

ROBLIN, R.P. & HAULTAIN, HON. F.W.G.

Full text of the Indian Head debate
held at Indian Head, Assa., on the
Evening of December 18th, 1901..n.p.,
n.d.

Roblin
Rutherford

FULL TEXT

OF THE

INDIAN HEAD DEBATE

HELD AT INDIAN HEAD, ASSA., ON THE EVENING
OF DECEMBER 18TH, 1901, BY

HON. R. P. ROBLIN,

PREMIER OF MANITOBA.

— AND —

HON. F. W. G. HAULTAIN,

PREMIER OF THE N.-W. TERRITORIES.

at the invitation of four hundred residents of the district, for the purpose of discussing the
comparative advantages of union with Manitoba and
Mr. Haultain's autonomy policy

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Full Text of Premier R. P. Roblin's Statement to Assiniboians at the Meeting with Premier Haultain of the Territories, the Subject Being the Proposed Extension of Manitoba's Boundaries

Following is the full text of the speech of Hon. R. P. Roblin delivered at Indian Head, N. W. T., on the evening of Wednesday, Dec. 18, the occasion being a meeting between Manitoba's premier and Premier Haultain of the Territories, for the discussion of the proposed extension of Manitoba's western boundaries:

Mr. Roblin said:

I can assure you I appreciate very much the opportunity you have afforded me of being present here to-night and taking part in the magnificent meeting that you have organized for this occasion. I am here by invitation of the provincial autonomy committee, which I understand exists for the purpose of considering the question that we are expected more particularly to discuss tonight. Therefore I feel not as though I were a stranger usurping something that did not belong to me. I feel rather as if I were at home, not only by virtue of the invitation which I received in a formal way, but also by having met a large number of personal friends in this district previously, and to which I have added very materially since my arrival today. So much so that I already feel as if I were in fact within the boundaries of Manitoba. (Loud applause.) As has been stated by the chairman, this meeting was organized for a specific purpose. It is to take the form of an educational meeting, that you may hear arguments and facts which will enable you to reach an intelligent, unbiased and patriotic conclusion as to the matter that you will be forced sooner or later to decide.

TO CONSIDER JOINT INTERESTS

Before proceeding to a general discussion of the question, I desire to say that I am not here in the most remote way to dictate or suggest to the people of Indian Head district or any other portion of the Territories, what they ought or ought not to do. I have my own sphere where my duties are clearly defined and where I undertake to discharge them to the best of my ability, and it is not my duty, neither is it my intention, to invade any portion of

the Territories, and say the people ought to do this or ought not to do that. I come simply to submit for your consideration a statement of fact, upon which you may be able to form an intelligent conclusion, and which will enable you, within the quiet of your homes, to calmly consider and sit in judgment on what my honorable friend, Mr. Haultain, and myself may have to say, and decide what, in your opinion, is in your best interests as individuals, as citizens of this great country, your families, your neighbors, and for the welfare of the great Dominion of Canada, of which we are all so proud. (Applause.)

MANITOBA'S AFFAIRS

Having said this much I shall proceed to deal with the affairs of Manitoba, and, in dealing with them, I simply intend to review, as concisely as possible, the position of that province at the present time, making such comments as may be necessary for you to clearly and fully understand the matter, so that you will have Manitoba's position fairly, honestly and comprehensively disclosed. When I have accomplished that I am willing to leave the matter with you.

I am going to deal with Manitoba's affairs in this way, first taking the capital account, showing how it is formed, then our revenue, assets, liabilities, value of our assets, our direct bonded indebtedness, showing what we have for it; what deficiency exists, if any; what we have spent for which we have no asset; hurriedly deal with municipal institutions, exemptions so far as the farmer is concerned, the municipal commissioner's levy, our corporation tax, school lands, school law, railways and our general railway policy, and after that, if time will permit, speak of our interests as a whole.

THE CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

To begin, you naturally ask, "What had you to start housekeeping, and how was that capital account, as we call it, arrived at?" Now, we have a capital account (without going into unnecessary details) in the hands of the Federal authorities at Ottawa, in the sum of \$3,877,775.76. These monies are

in the Dominion treasury, and the Dominion pays us 5 per cent. interest half-yearly. That is one source of revenue. The amount mentioned was reached by taking the population of the province (assumed or real, it does not matter), or 125,000, and making an average valuation per head. That is the origin of our so-called capital account. That is the way it stands at the present time.

OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE.

Then the province has other sources of revenue. We have a per capita grant of 80 cents per head on the total population of the province. The last census, on which we received this grant of 80 cents per head, was 193,425. That, however, is not the census of 1901, but of 1895. That source of revenue, which gave us last year \$154,740, is capable of expansion up to a population of 400,000 souls. When we have reached that point we cannot expand beyond it, unless there be some rearrangement with the Dominion authorities.

GOVERNMENT GRANT.

We have also a yearly allowance from the Federal authorities for governmental purposes, of \$50,000; also a yearly allowance in lieu of lands of \$100,000. Altogether these amounts make a total revenue coming directly from Ottawa, of \$183,687.06. You will therefore see from that we have not a very large revenue from the Dominion government as yet.

REVENUE FROM LOCAL SOURCES

You ask me if that is all the revenue we have as a province. No; we have other sources, and I will state them to you as they appear in our public accounts, but they are purely local in character. They are made up as follows: Interest on school lands fund, fines, fees, county court fees, law stamps, land titles fees, marriage licenses, Manitoba Gazette, sale of statutes, 3 per cent. gross earnings, liquor licenses, interest, private bills, provincial lands, support of lunatics, incurables and deaf and dumb, insurance act fees, succession duty, municipal, corporation and railway tax, and other minor sundry revenue. Together these make a total revenue for the year ending December 31, 1900, including the subsidy I have previously mentioned, of \$905,331.06. That is our total revenue and the various sources named are where it comes from. Later on, for pertinent reasons I will deal specifically with one or two of these items of revenue.

BONDED INDEBTEDNESS.

Having now told you of our revenue I have no doubt you naturally expect to hear something of our assets and liabilities. Doubtless the Winnipeg newspapers circulate largely in this district, and you will have noticed that there is a bonded indebtedness upon

the province of Manitoba, and that sometimes there is a difference of opinion expressed as to the nature of and disposition of the funds that were realized on the sale of these bonds. Now, this meeting, as the chairman remarked, is stripped of all political bias. Men are here tonight simply to consider a business proposition. For that reason I ask you, no matter what paper you read, wherein the indebtedness of the province is discussed and the disposition of the funds realized from the sale of bonds is dealt with, to at least read the criticisms cum grano salis, or with a due extent of mental reservation, because not having in the territories reached as yet the stage of party government you may not appreciate that party zeal very often prompts criticisms which do not fully represent the true facts.

DIRECT ASSETS.

Now, our direct assets are as follows:

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Dom. Gov. capital account. | \$ 3,877,776.00 |
| Loans advanced, etc., by the government..... | 135,000.00 |
| Public buildings | 848,000.00 |
| Provincial lands (estimated) 7,000,000 acres at \$3.. | 21,000,000.00 |
| Cash on hand | 102,860.00 |

Total

Direct liabilities are:

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Provincial debentures issued in connection with M. & N. W. railway..... | 787,426.67 |
| Ditto Hudson's Bay Ry... | 255,986.66 |
| Public service | 1,498,933.33 |
| Public service .. | 997,666.67 |
| Public service .. | 500,000.00 |

Total

Or a surplus of assets over liabilities of \$21,923,628.67.

M. & N. W. BONDS.

Now there is necessity for a little explanation here. Take, for instance, series A, bonds issued in connection with the M. & N. W. railway \$787,426.67. The province never got one dollar of that money. The bonds were given to the M. & N. W. railway as aid to them in the construction of their line, away back in 1885 or thereabouts, the government at that time taking an acre of land for every dollar of provincial bonds issued, as security for the repayment of the money on the maturity of the bonds. It ran along for a number of years, when the railway company, owing to litigation and other causes (not necessary to enumerate) ceased to pay interest, and ran behind to the extent of several hundred thousand dollars. The government of the province in 1899 made an arrangement with the railway company whereby the railway released, or quit claimed their interest in these lands for the consideration of 160,000 acres of the total grant being retained

by them. That left us a very considerable amount of land, between 500,000 and 600,000 acres. Now a good deal of this land is located in the Territories to the north of you. The lands at the time of the arrangement referred to were considered valuable, but to what extent at the present time I am not prepared to say, further than that we received a short time ago a bulk offer for the whole of them, which was refused for the reason that it was against the policy of the government to allow public lands to go into the hands of speculators, whose sole object, in most cases, is to get all they can out of them, totally disregarding the interests of settlers. We are holding these lands back for actual settlers and I hope that a disposition of them in the manner stated will result in a full realization of the amount of this asset.

The same applies to the Hudson's Bay railway bonds. We hold an acre of land for every dollar of this amount of bonded indebtedness. This land is located largely in our own province; very little, if any, being in the Territories.

INDIRECT ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

Now, I will deal next with the indirect assets and indirect liabilities, and then with the \$3,000,000 indebtedness that was incurred for the public service. You ask what indirect assets and liabilities are. Well, we have guaranteed, under a system of aid to railways, the interest and, in some cases, principal, upon the bonds of these railway companies to the extent of \$10,525,593.33, but we hold a mortgage upon the railway for that particular amount. We have an asset in the way of a mortgage, upon drainage districts, amounting to \$484,766.67, making a total of indirect assets of \$11,010,360. Now, that indirect asset carries with it an indirect liability in the way of provincial bonds and guarantees. But take the Manitoba Southwestern railway, which is practically the Canadian Pacific. A guarantee was made in this case of \$899,846.66. This dates away back to 1885, but the province has never been called upon to pay a single dollar. We held land in this, as in the other cases, and whenever the C. P. R. release an acre of land, they pay into the treasury \$2, and that remains in the treasury until the bonds mature, so that we practically double our security whenever they sell any land. They have already released some two to three hundred thousand acres, and the money they have paid over is drawing 5 per cent. interest, waiting for the bonds to mature, so that this does not carry with it any liability whatever. Nothing more fortunate could happen the province of Manitoba than that the Manitoba Southwestern railway should forfeit the lands and allow them to revert to the province, because we would make 200 to 500 per cent. profit. Of course, there is no possibility of such a thing occurring,

but there is an indirect liability and I want you to understand it, so that when anyone talks about it you will not be confused with these large sums of money, because we have assets to cover them.

RAILWAY GUARANTEES

In the next place is the provincial guarantees upon Canadian Northern bonds of which I have already spoken. We, in the province of Manitoba, have aided railways in constructing new lines in various ways. We have, in some instances, given cash grants of so much a mile; in some cases granted a lump sum, and, in others, aided railway companies by a guarantee of bonds. But, wherever we have guaranteed we have always taken a mortgage upon the railway. In the case of the Canadian Northern we have a mortgage for a sum which is not only in my opinion, but in the opinion of practical railway men, less than one-half the value of the road, or the amount it could be sold for if it was necessary for us to sell to protect ourselves. The province has been employing this method of aiding railways for a number of years. We have done it before in connection with colonization railways. We have induced the construction of roads in portions of the province where there were no settlements and nothing to justify the construction other than for colonization purposes, and in no single case in all these years has the province of Manitoba been called upon to pay one dollar. In other cases the earnings were sufficient to pay all charges on the road and the interest on the bonds guaranteed. Therefore, I do not think that any gentleman that has faith in his country can believe that we will ever be called upon to pay one cent. If we do, we have our remedy, and have a government road at one-half what it cost to build. Now, the aid we have given to the Canadian Northern railway in the way of guarantees is very considerable, being over \$9,000,000. There is \$5,800,000 of that liability with respect to a line of railway in the province of Ontario; that is to say, 290 miles at the rate of \$20,000 a mile of guarantee.

NORTHERN PACIFIC LEASE.

I presume it is necessary also, for fear I might be charged with having withheld or forgotten something, to refer to the lease that the government of Manitoba made with the Northern Pacific railway, in which we agreed to pay \$210,000 a year as rental for that road. We did so, but at the same time assigned the lease and covenants to the Canadian Northern, and we were in that way relieved of the liability. Someone may feel that there is still some shadow of liability, that there is

some menace in the lease, and that if the Canadian Northern failed to pay the rental that we might be held, as a province, for the amount of the rental. Now, in order to relieve your minds of doubt and give an assurance in the way of a statement of fact, I have only to point out the offer the C.P.R. made for this lease. The president of the great Canadian Pacific railway came on a special train from Montreal to Winnipeg, and interviewed the government of Manitoba for the purpose of securing from us this lease we had secured from the Northern Pacific. I have no doubt that you have been led to believe, if you accepted as truthful, many of the newspaper criticisms, that Manitoba had made a bad bargain in this lease. Wrong statements were made, statements inspired by interested parties, to the effect that Manitoba would lose by the lease of these lines. But Sir Thomas Shaughnessy came west as fast as he could, and he did not say we had made a bad bargain. He offered us \$500,000 and a reduction of rates, which would have meant a saving on the transportation of farmers' produce equal to \$1,500,000 a year, for our lease. Surely this is evidence that we have not made a bad bargain, and the offer is still open to the government of Manitoba to take advantage of these very material inducements. Therefore, I do not think it is at all necessary for me to deal further with this. If these lines should come back to us, we have an asset that will make hundreds of thousands of dollars as direct revenue and save millions in reduced rates.

THE \$3,000,000 INDEBTEDNESS.

I shall not deal further with the railway matter at this stage, but I want next to deal with the direct and indirect liabilities. We have \$3,000,000 debt that does need some explanation, and I have no doubt that you, who are considering the question, desire to know just how I propose that this debt, the only debt that we have to consider, shall be adjusted, in so far as you would be concerned, should you join any part of your territory to Manitoba. Now, I stated a moment ago that we had aided railways in various ways, direct cash grants of so much a mile, lump sums and guarantees. Out of this sum of \$3,000,000 in round figures, we have given in aid to lines of railways in the province of Manitoba \$971,567.87. I said Manitoba, but that is not correct, because out of that amount we took \$150,000 and built a line of railway in the territory of Assiniboia, from Melita to Estevan. The province of Manitoba mortgaged its resources, and took that money raised on these debentures, and aided the C.P.R. to that extent, and, therefore, I

think that no man will say that that amount was not expended in a way directly beneficial to the people of Assiniboia. This, therefore, would not be a matter of dispute. Another sum of \$80,000 or \$90,000 was used in aiding an extension of the Pipestone branch up to Assiniboia, and since extended to Arcola, so that item you will also not consider to have been an improper expenditure, because, if there were no eastern end to a railway in Assiniboia, what use would it be?

RAILWAY EXTENSION.

The balance of this sum was very largely used for aiding the Northern Pacific in Manitoba. I fancy from what I have heard today, and from what I have seen around your station, and streets, you are suffering from want of better transportation facilities. (Hear, hear.) You are not only suffering for want of competition, but you actually require more facilities even at the rates now charged. We in Manitoba passed through this same period, I may say, of agitation some years ago, and the people realized that, situated as we were in the centre of the continent, the great question with them was the transportation one. Therefore, we had to have not only facilities for carrying out the grain, but also at a price which would leave a fair remuneration. Agitation sprung up, and it was necessary in the interests of the people, so we thought, that there should be a competing road, and steps were taken, which resulted in the introduction of the Northern Pacific, which was aided by a cash grant to the extent of \$675,000. Now, I can quite understand you doubting in your mind whether, in the adjustment or arrangement, come to regarding the addition of territory to Manitoba, expenditure of such money can be made beneficial to you. Now, unless that expenditure can be shown to have been made for your benefit, then it would not be proper to have you assume any proportion of it. But, I claim, if you enjoyed the advantages of that line you should be willing to assume your share of that debt, because the material advantages you would get on this year's crop would more than compensate you for that debt, to say nothing about the future. (Applause.) That money has been expended, and that railway is practically up to the western borders of the province. There are a few miles to construct, but the province is not willing under existing circumstances, to extend the line beyond its limits without there being some special reason for it, so by virtue of its connection with the territories. But if you become a part of the province the railway might be extended to your

territory, and the advantages that road would carry would be given to you, and it would be as beneficial then to you as it now is to us. This is a statement, of course, which requires a contract. It would be a matter for arrangement when we get to a point where it is necessary to consider it as a business proposition.

*A MUTUAL BENEFIT.

That deals with the amount used in railway construction, and I claim now, and I do not wish to be misunderstood, that if any portion of the territory of Assinibola becomes part of the province of Manitoba, that they ought to be willing to assume the joint responsibility with us in connection with the monies that have been expended for these purposes, because the benefits would materialize for them as fast as it would be possible for extensions to be made. The next item, \$149,084.24 of money that we used out of this to assist municipalities that had given aid to railways; that is to say, a municipality like Westbourne, which gave a very considerable bonus by way of its debentures to railways to secure construction. They claimed, and I think properly, that when the Northern Pacific was brought into the province, and the cost of it borne by the province as a whole, they should be relieved of that financial liability. I think it was a fair position, and the government of the day acceded and repaid the municipalities to the amount named, so that this comes properly under the head of aid to railways.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

The next item is public buildings, \$506,144.47. Now, this is money which was expended for the construction of lunatic asylums, a deaf and dumb institute and a home for incurables; institutions that are necessary in every civilized community because, no matter how much we deplore it, we have these classes of unfortunates in our midst to provide for. The Christian civilization, under which we live, prompts us, compels us, to furnish institutions for caring for these people. Now these asylums, one at Brandon and the other at Selkirk; the home for incurables at Portage la Prairie, and the deaf and dumb institute at Winnipeg, are public institutions which are today caring for the afflicted people of Assinibola, Alberta and the Northwestern country.

NECESSARY INSTITUTIONS

These are institutions which, if you organized as a province, you would require to raise money to construct. These in Manitoba are already constructed and are doing work which they would continue to do, if you became part of the province. You say "I has not cost us

anything now." That is true, but the time has come when your advanced position in matters material demand that you should change your condition and, therefore, you cannot continue as wards of the government, because the cost is borne now by the Dominion government for you, and they pay us so much per head. I claim, and submit it as a fair proposition, that these institutions being built and serving you, you can very properly be asked to assume your proportion of the amount expended upon them as a fair liability.

The next item of this money expended was \$370,766.53 interest on bonds of the M. & N. W. Ry., but which I have already shown is secured by lands. The same applies to the sum paid out for interest on the Winnipeg and Hudson Bay Ry. bonds.

HALFBREED MORTGAGES

Another item is for halfbreed mortgages, \$91,702.40. This is an item that may be questioned, as we are not sure whether the lands held to cover this amount will be of sufficient value for that sum. It arose in this way: the courts of Manitoba while the halfbreed children were minors, were acting as trustees for them when the halfbreed settlement was being made. They took charge of the monies and made, in some cases, what was claimed to be a bad investment, so that, to set at rest any doubt, the province assumed the liability, paid the children in cash as they reached maturity, and accepted the lands. So the only thing to be settled could be the difference between the \$91,702.40 and the selling price of the lands.

COMPENSATION FOR BALANCE.

That leaves a balance of about \$741,000. Now, you naturally ask me what we are going to do about that? I say, if any portion of the Territories desires to become a part of the province of Manitoba, it shall have the sum of \$750,000 in round figures, set apart to its credit. That sum will be taken from our consolidated revenue account as it stands at the present time, and be placed to the credit of the new territory, to be expended in such a way as the people who are directly interested in that district think wise. It could be used in the construction of roads, bridges, buildings, etc. You would have that sum for your own purposes, to be used however you wished.

COMMITTEE OF ADJUSTMENT.

That is my proposition as to the adjustment of the \$3,000,000 debt carried by the province of Manitoba at the present time. All, excepting the last sum mentioned, has been expended for purposes still available and beneficial to you if you became a portion of Manitoba. The

basis, then, would allow you to come in on terms of equality with us so far as we stand in relation to that particular liability. The matter is a business one, and I have no doubt that if it is decided that it is a desirable thing to do, a committee representing the people will be appointed who can meet with government of Manitoba and go over those items of expenditure and adjust them in an equitable manner. That is my proposition for adjusting the difficulty.

GOVERNMENT GRANTS.

I shall now pass on to the amount of money we gave back to the people last year. We gave out of consolidated revenue \$402,340.57 directly, as follows. Historical society, \$250; Rifle association, \$250; public schools, \$257,740.15; University of Manitoba, \$6,000; agricultural societies, \$15,977.83; dairy association, \$200; Cattle Breeders' association, \$200; Poultry association, \$350; Winnipeg Industrial exhibition, \$4,000; Brandon exhibition, \$4,000; Horticultural society, \$200; hospital and charitable institutions, \$51,744.14; aids to municipalities, \$51,423.45, making a total of the \$402,340.57 mentioned. This, of course, does not apply in any way to the cost of maintaining our public institutions.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

The next question is that of municipal government. I know the principle of municipal government does not obtain to any great extent in the Territories. I also know that there is a desire on the part of the farmers of the Northwest to avoid any semblance of taxation as far as possible, and it is a proper spirit. The same desire to avoid taxation is found regarding debt. In the province of Manitoba, where municipal institutions obtain very largely, I want to tell you that it is always optional and lies entirely with the will of the people whether the district exists as a municipality or not. The people exercise the option which they enjoy under our law. You people of this portion of the Territories should you become a portion of Manitoba, need not organize into municipalities unless you so desire. The government supplies the machinery, but never insists upon municipal organization without a petition or request from the people. You have the matter entirely in your own hands. I need not go into the law regarding municipal organization, because I fancy most of you are familiar with them, as probably the majority of those present have come from eastern Canada and know its enactments.

EXEMPTION LAW.

We have in Manitoba a liberal exemption law, which fully protects the farmer from undue persecution at the instance of a creditor.

(Mr. Roblin here read the list of property in Manitoba exempt from seizure.)

THE DIRECT TAX.

I now come to what you have probably noticed I am particularly blamed for by some people—because I would not have you for a moment think that in the province of Manitoba everybody thinks I am the best man as head of the government. There are some people who actually do not agree with me, but, however, they don't happen to be in the majority at the present time. (Applause.) These people claim that we have done a very vicious and wicked thing in imposing by a statute of last year a direct tax on the people of Manitoba. It is true we have imposed a direct tax, but we only did it after very careful deliberation, and on the principle that we should pay as we go, that we should not exceed our revenues so as to run behind every few years to the extent of the \$750,000 which was included in the \$3,000,000 debt. We decided we would ask the people of Manitoba to pay a portion of the cost of the administration of justice by a direct levy of \$42,000. This is the only direct tax the government of Manitoba puts upon the people for consolidated revenue purposes. It is true, fault is found with it; but in the first utterance I made after I accepted portfolio I stated that this direct tax we proposed to put upon the people would only be continued until we had adjusted the finances and secured sufficient revenue to cover the expenditure. I hope we will be compelled not to repeat the taxation for any considerable period. So satisfactory are the finances of the province becoming that we hope—mind, we do not promise, but we hope—to be able to repeal that statute at an early date. Now, I am sure you farmers would endorse any government that would undertake, even with such steps as that, to keep within revenue, on the principle of not running into debt.

MUNICIPAL LEVY.

The only other items that are raised through the municipal commissioner are those for interest and sinking fund to pay for court house and jail, \$44,637.33. These court houses, jails and buildings of this kind are constructed by municipalities, and owned by municipalities, and the law provides that the municipal commissioner shall collect the interest on the debentures sold to pay for them and have a sinking fund when the bonds mature. We are simply doing it for the people, who have constructed these buildings, and who have asked us to do the work for them.

PROVINCIAL HEALTH FUND.

Next comes the sum for the main-

tenance of the board of health, some \$9,000. A municipality where an outbreak of disease takes place is supposed to bear the cost of suppressing and wiping out the same, so the money is raised for the purpose. Then we have an item, we raise money for which I have often voted against, and that is the wolf bounty. Every man who kills a wolf brings in the ears or head and gets a reward and the amount is raised by a levy on the municipalities. Last year this amounted to \$3,760.33. Another item is the maintenance of county courts. This comprises the list of items raised by the municipal commissioner and all except the \$42,000 mentioned is purely for the people themselves.

CORPORATION TAX.

Now we not only tax the people but we tax corporations in Manitoba as follows, believing that they ought to pay their share of the cost of government,—railway companies, 2 per cent gross earnings; banks, \$300 for a head office, \$200 for branch offices up to four and for every one over that \$100, private banks, \$200, insurance companies, 1 per cent on gross premiums; loan companies \$100 with increase account to capital; telegraph companies, 1 per cent; telephone companies, 50 cents per instrument; street railways, \$200 up to \$500; gas companies, \$500; electric light companies, \$100. Now that is what we do in the way of taxing corporations. It is a new principle with us and is working very satisfactorily.

SCHOOL MATTERS.

The next question that is of interest to you and us, because it is possibly the most important one, is that of school matters. I want to tell you that you people of Assinibola are in an enviable position, particularly as compared with the province of Manitoba. We have not the money, and the Dominion government to draw upon for this purpose, and cannot, or do not, aid our schools to the extent you do. We give our schools \$130 each per year by direct grant, that is, 65 cents a day for 200 days. The municipalities give them \$120 a year, and the balance of the cost of maintenance and operation is borne directly by the people of the school district. That is the way our schools are run. Your schools are aided to a larger extent than we can do on account of the large number of schools, and our limited revenue. But our school growth has been very great. In 1881 the school population was 7,000 and today it is 62,664. We have 1,596 teachers, and pay \$257,740.16 as a cash grant. You can see that we pay about 30 per cent. of our total revenue to the cause of education. Now, our school funds and school lands are in a somewhat similar position to yours in that we have sold a considerable por-

tion of ours, and the funds received from these sales are held in trust for us at Ottawa. The interest alone amounts to \$150,175. We hope to get this, and when we do, this, with our revenues, will enable us to grant more aid to schools.

RAILWAY QUESTION.

One more matter of as much interest as any other I have dealt with. I believe it is of great importance to you people of this district, and I believe you realize this, because I have heard it more freely discussed since I came to Indian Head than any other. That is the railway question. (Applause.) I want to say that so far as Manitoba is concerned, we have no more railway question. The railway problem, in so far as Manitoba is concerned, is solved, and there is no more agitation of any kind in that direction in Manitoba. On some points on the C. P.R. we have been unable to get cars required on some particular days, but, largely speaking, we have arrived at a solution of the problem as a whole. At any rate the newspapers and my political opponents have no criticisms or suggestions to make.

THE TWO MAPS.

I have a map here which will show you how Manitoba is situated in regard to railways. The province is pretty well covered and no districts are either not supplied or not provided for in the immediate future. We have built up to our western boundary, but we have no object in going beyond that so far as the province is concerned. Now, in this other map (Mr. Roblin exhibits map of Assinibola) you will observe a marked difference. (Laughter.) Although your country is rich and fertile and your people honest and industrious, yet you have not been able, whether because you had not provincial autonomy or for other reasons, but at all events you have not got the facilities we have.

NEW RAILWAY PRINCIPLE.

Now, we not only have the lines of railway; we have something more. We have introduced in the province of Manitoba a new principle regarding the construction and control of railway-lines. We have, by virtue of an arrangement, secured as absolute control over 1,343 miles of road, as if we had built the lines ourselves as if we had put our hands in the public treasury and constructed every inch. We have secured that without one cent of capital expenditure. We never put one dollar into these roads, and yet as I have stated we have 1,343 miles of the government of Manitoba absolutely controls. (Applause.) They control the rates and they control the operation of that

road in as far as the interests of the people demand.

NO REAL LIABILITY.

You ask me properly, "Did not the securing of these advantages involve a great liability to the province?" It did involve a liability of the sum of \$11,195,280. This liability, the province assumed in the way of a guarantee in connection with this system of railways. The only question, therefore, to be decided is whether in the guarantee or endorsement of the bonds there is a likelihood of the province ever being called upon to pay anything. I have risked my reputation as a public man and as a business man on this question by saying that the province will never be called upon to pay one dollar. And yet we have the right to say what rate that railway shall charge on every pound of freight that it carries over its lines. Is that not worth something to the people of Manitoba or any of the western country? We are experiencing in Manitoba before the lines are even completed and in operation, material benefits and advantages under this contract. You ask me also if it is an absolute certainty that we have that control of rates. Our contract says so, our mortgage is completed, and I have here a letter received only yesterday from the chief counsel we employed to draft that mortgage, the most eminent lawyers that could be secured in connection with railway law Messrs Kingsmill & Barwick of Toronto, which states that the province is absolutely secured and that we have the control of rates.

REDUCTION OF RATES.

It is true that the road is not yet completed and we have not had a fair test of its earning power. We have not yet had a test of what it can carry merchandise for, but we have had something else in the nature of an assurance, proving that the rates can be reduced, and I may tell you that when the Dominion Government has inspected and authorized the opening of the Rainy River section of the Canadian Northern line, that day the rates on wheat from Manitoba points on that line of railway will be reduced 2 cents a hundred. (Great applause.) That is the kind of legislation we have been able to pass in Manitoba, and that is the kind of benefit that we have been able to obtain for our people. Some one may say, however, "while you may reduce the rates, don't you have to pay if there is any deficiency." No; for the railway company is bound that until the rates are reduced below 10c. a hundred on wheat and more than 15 per cent. on merchandise, they will make good any deficiency. That is the essence of our contract. But if the rates are dropped to 10c. there is no possible danger of even the railway company

having to make good any deficiency. How do I reach that conclusion?

CANADIAN NORTHERN EARNINGS.

Under section 300 of the railway act, every railway is compelled to make a sworn statement of gross earnings from week to week, and that is filed at Ottawa. Now the statement of the Canadian Northern shows that with the mere patches and pieces the company is at present operating in Manitoba, and taking any proportion of the through freight charges that the connecting lines choose to give them, they have been able to earn a sum of money each month that not only pays fixed charges and interest on the mileage that they operate, some 477 miles, but they have earned an amount which is sufficient to pay the interest and fixed charges on the total mileage of 1,343 miles which includes 502 miles not yet in operation. (Applause.) Besides they could have the tidy profit of ten to fifteen thousand dollars a month in addition. (Applause.) That is what they are doing and five hundred miles of road not operated yet.

It is the power and duty of the government of Manitoba to examine what they earn, so that all moneys invested including stock shall pay a dividend, but also see that the road shall not create millionaires by the dozen every year. (Applause.)

SOON BE IN OPERATION.

That is the railway position in Manitoba. I wish this meeting had been held a week or two later, for by that time I believe the road will be in operation and the benefits manifest to all. I believe I am not wrong in prophesying that even as far west as Indian Head the farmers will feel the benefit of the railway legislation passed through our legislature last session, on account of a sympathetic action over every line of railway in the country, not only in reduction of rates but in better service. Now what amount have we guaranteed each year, because this is an important matter and you would have to assume the liability with us if you joined Manitoba. The amount of the guarantee is estimated at \$457.22 per mile on a bonded indebtedness of \$11,435 per mile. This is, I believe, the cheapest railway in the world. It is at least the most cheaply constructed road of which I have been able to obtain any record, and I want you to examine all statements you can procure, so that this statement shall have the fullest corroboration. We have an absolute mortgage on that road, by which, if the company should fail to do what they have contracted to do, we have power to enforce them and take charge of the road ourselves. So that if we get that road, we shall have a

government railway at a cost of less than one half the cost of any railway on this continent.

LIGHT BONDED INDEBTEDNESS.

I fancy that there is no gentleman who will say that, if the C.P.R. with its long stretches through barren country can pay interest on \$56,000 a mile, and its stock sell at over par, that a railway passing through a country, every mile of which will produce local traffic and carrying only \$11,435 a mile will pay interest to an absolute certainty. This statement carries proof on its face. Now just see what other roads pay and what their debt is. The Grand Trunk has a bonded indebtedness of \$60,535 a mile, Michigan Central \$22,577, Pennsylvania \$56,228, Chicago and Burlington \$27,661, Norfolk and Western \$38,724, and many others I have on this list show an indebtedness of two, three, and five times what ours carries. That shows you whether we have a good bargain or not, and whether we have a road under the cost of other roads or not. What do other roads pay per mile in interest? Ours only has to pay \$457.22. The C. P. R. pays \$1,601.47. The Grand Trunk pays \$423; So. line \$2,019.53; Wabash \$1,920; Wisconsin Central \$2,175.55; Great Northern \$2,527.98; Northern Pacific \$3,314.82; Illinois Central \$2,921.48. I have a long list of the principal railways of this continent showing what they earned last year, and in every case the amount is three, four to five times as much as our road has to pay before we are released from obligation. That is our position.

WILL BUILD NEW LINES.

We will build new lines where the interests of the people demand. There is no portion of the province excepting part of the Riding Mountain country but what has railway facilities today. There have not all got competition, but there is one thing I think I ought to say, and that is wherever

the two roads come together, or where they both operate or ask for trade from common ground, there has been no shortage of cars at any point. (Applause.) The farmer got his car as soon as he asked for it, and as a result these places were always better served than other points. While it is not possible and not proper for me to promise that if any territory were added to Manitoba that you would have a competing line at all points, yet I can make this promise, and I make it as representing the province of Manitoba, that if any considerable portion of the territories choose to throw in its destinies with Manitoba, the same efficient and complete railway service that has been secured for the province of Manitoba will be given to the farmers of the territories at the very earliest moment possible. (Applause.)

Of course this cannot be done in one year. It will have to be done, as it has been done with us, as fast as possible having regard to circumstances.

But it is not necessary for me to make any particular promise or pledge. I am not here to hold out any alluring advantages, but simply to state facts, and then if you think it would be better in your interest to join hands with Manitoba and together with us march on to that prominence that we expect to attain and which we so richly deserve, in the Dominion, then so much the better for us all, but if you choose on the other hand to remain alone and work out your own destiny in your own particular way, then we will be rivals, but not enemies. We will rejoice in your prosperity and you in ours. And whatever happens, whether we go on together or alone, we will all rejoice in the prosperity which is the certain destiny of this grand Dominion, our common country.



Full Text of Premier Haultain's Speech at the Indian Head Meeting in Reply to Premier Roblin's Arguments on the Question of the Extension of Manitoba's Boundaries.

The following is the report verbatim of the speech delivered by Premier Haultain, of the Northwest Territories, at Indian Head, on Wednesday evening, Dec. 18, on the occasion of the meeting with Premier Roblin to discuss the proposed extension westward of Manitoba's boundaries:

Mr. Haultain said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—I am sure I should be doing wrong if I did not take advantage of this opportunity to congratulate myself and congratulate you upon the splendid and representative audience gathered here tonight, but it is only fitting to the occasion and to the subject under discussion that there should be a large and representative audience. I would also congratulate you on the fact that we are able to depart from the ordinary, beaten paths of political controversy, and discuss a question which, after all, has nothing to do with politics, and is the most important question to be discussed in this part of the country, one which concerns you and concerns everyone in the Territories and Canada at large. I can also congratulate you upon having the subject discussed in the spirit which Mr. Roblin has already shown, and which I hope to emulate in anything I may say. We are all glad to have Mr. Roblin present tonight; we are glad to have him here as a friend and as a neighbor, as well as a man occupying a foremost position in our sister province of Manitoba. Mr. Roblin says he has been able to extend his friendships among us. I can assure him, if I do not misjudge the spirit of our people, he may well be able to extend his friendships much further in the West, even if there is a limitation applied to his boundaries. Mr. Roblin says he does not come as an invader. Of course he does not come as an invader; he comes with all the graces, and all the promises, and all the allurements of a wooer, although he says he does not offer any allurements. He does his wooing very well, and even if we are obliged to reject him, we will always be willing to be a sister province to him and be perfectly friendly.

MR. ROBLIN AND THE TERRITORIAL ASSEMBLY.

Before saying anything further, there is just one personal matter

which I am going to take up with Mr. Roblin, one I think I ought to refer to, both on my own account and on behalf of my fellow-members in the legislative assembly. It is the only point of personal difference which exists between Mr. Roblin and myself, and it will be finished so far as I am concerned when I have said what I am going to say. In the correspondence which took place some little time ago between Mr. Roblin and the committee, Mr. Roblin undertook to say this:

"I know the most of the legislative assembly are very much opposed to any extension of boundaries. You can understand that they are jealous of the position they now occupy, and they desire to retain it, and they fear if they are added to Manitoba their individuality might be lost; therefore, I pay but little attention to what the members of the legislative assembly say on this point, as I quite appreciate the motives that prompt it, but I do pay careful attention as to what the individual farmers, the wealth producers of the Northwest have to say in their private individual capacity and, therefore, am pleased to hear from individual farmers regarding this matter."

Now, of course, there may be a certain amount of personal ambition on the part of myself and the other members of the legislature when we take the position that we would like to see our great country united; at the same time that is a position which the members of the legislature can take without having their motives misconstrued. If there is any question of ambition, it is just as ambitious on behalf of Mr. Roblin to come here to extend his boundaries as it is for the members of the legislature to try and hold what they already have. I am certain that while Mr. Roblin may have as much public spirit as any member of the assembly, I do not think he has more than the combined public spirit of the assembly. I think we, as a body, as well as individually, are able to look at this large question as disinterestedly, and with as little attention to what our ambitions may suggest, as Mr. Roblin or anybody else.

I have an apology to make. I have to make two speeches. In the first place, I have to indulge in a little discussion with Mr. Roblin on

one side of a large question; and, on the other hand, I have taken advantage of what I knew would be a large meeting—a meeting to which an unusual amount of significance will be attached—to make a definite statement on behalf of the government of the Territories as to our position with regard to the provincial question. Although the chairman has been very gracious in according us as much time as we want, Mr. Roblin has asked: "What about the audience?" I am very sorry for the audience, but at the same time I have a large subject to deal with, a subject opening up a large number of questions, a subject which has to be presented in a number of phases. If it is going to take a long time to discuss, I can only apologize and say that I will either have to not approach the subject at all, or do it in the way that suggests itself to me.

I will divide anything I have to say into two parts: The first part devoted to dealing with what Mr. Roblin has said; and the second part I propose to devote to stating the general policy of the government, with whatever that may lead to.

The general policy of the government practically involves a discussion of three points: First—Whether it is desirable at all to have provincial institutions? Secondly—if we are to have them, are we to have one, two or more provinces? Thirdly—The subject which Mr. Roblin has discussed tonight—if we are to have provincial institutions is it going to be after a portion of the Territories have been included in Manitoba?

First, let us consider whether it is desirable that any portion of the Territories should be added to Manitoba.

In discussing that question I have to take for granted certain things which I will have to prove later on. I will have to take for granted that provincial institutions are going to be established, so far as a certain portion of Eastern Assiniboia is concerned. You will really stand in this position. Will you be in a better position as a part of a western province, under provincial institutions, than you will be as a part of Manitoba under, of course, similar institutions? I want to say at the very beginning that the western province or provinces will have the same sources of income as have been stated by Mr. Roblin that Manitoba possesses. You must not forget that because Manitoba is a province today, and has certain definite sources of income, they would have to be as definite in the case of a new province established here. The argument is not, "will you be better off as a part of Manitoba than you are today under present conditions?" That is not the question at all. The question is, "Will you be better off as a part of Manitoba than as a part of the new province after the Territories have been erected into a pro-

vince?" It is a part of my argument tonight that you would be better off under provincial institutions, but that your position would be far better as a part of the new province than as a part of Manitoba.

UNFAIR CRITICISM.

Right here, let me digress to take notice of an article which has appeared in the local newspaper at Indian Head, in today's issue. There seems to be a great deal of misapprehension on the part of some people, and especially on the part of some editors of certain newspapers, in regard to the powers of the Territories today. I will read extracts from the article referred to, most unfairly published on the very day of this meeting, an article only a little more misleading and untrue than those usually appearing in that paper. The article says:

"The situation which the people face; which Premiers Roblin and Haultain must face today, is that here is a country incapable of transacting business as individuals because the government has not provided an avenue through which business can be transacted."

I do not know where the editor, or whoever wrote this article, obtained his information, but everyone knows that the Northwest government has no power to provide any such means for "transacting business." A charter to railways is not within the power of the legislature to give, and therefore railways could not be provided.

The article continues:

"Are our farmers to go on producing and then to find their produce depreciated in value through the criminal lethargy of those whose duty it is to see that proper railway accommodation is provided."

This is another point I need not repudiate. There is no "criminal lethargy" on the part of the Northwest government, any more than there is on the part of your municipal council, for the present state of the railways in this part of the world. The government has not the means, even if it had the power, and it has not the power, to do anything in that direction. I think it is only fair that I should make this reference.

HAMMERING AT THE DOORS.

The very condition that we find ourselves in today, that we are hammering at the doors of the government at Ottawa and asking to be admitted as a province, shows that the government of the Territories, and the legislature, at least, are not satisfied with the present conditions. As long as people are satisfied with their conditions, and doing well, and having their ordinary wants supplied, they do not look for a change. But why is it the people ask for a change today? Simply because they are not satisfied with the present conditions.

No man can live in this country without being alive to the unfortunate conditions that exist today. The only remedy is one we must apply ourselves. We are now demanding to be created into a new province that we may apply the remedy. We shall be able to apply the remedy ourselves as a province equally as well as if we go into the province of Manitoba.

SHARING MANITOBA'S DEBT.

In anything I say with regard to Manitoba and its position, I do not wish to be taken as criticizing in an unfriendly way. Manitoba is in a very favorable condition, according to Mr. Roblin; but you must remember it has taken thirty years under provincial institutions to arrive at that point. I do not wish to say a single word which might be taken as assailing the financial position of that province. It will amicably meet the purposes of my argument, and your argument, if we can show that they have a debt, for instance. We do not care for what it was incurred; the question after all is—Have they a debt, and are you willing to take a share of it? Consequently I do not wish to attack Mr. Roblin's government, or any previous government of Manitoba, or to pry with unfriendly feelings into the affairs of a neighboring province, but simply wish to point out certain facts and let you say whether they are sufficiently enticing to warrant you in joining your fortunes with theirs.

A great many things Mr. Roblin has said are things with which we all agree. I mean with regard to the unfortunate condition of affairs which exists and your applause of his remarks in that connection was very natural. His reference to the flourishing condition of Manitoba under certain conditions was applauded, but they do not help you much. The eloquent statement of the present grievances does not relieve them, nor will an equally eloquent statement of the conditions many miles away in another province, help you in your present conditions. Your great question is: Are you going to get these things remedied by joining Manitoba? Even under the provincial institutions existing in Manitoba there are some of the very conditions existing which are such a fruitful source of complaint in the Territories.

In conversation with a gentleman today, I learn that in Carberry, on the main line, exactly the same conditions exist with regard to the shortage of cars as you have here in Indian Head. More than that, he informed me that he was going to bring a personal action against the C. P. R. to remedy the state of affairs. I simply mention this to show that even under the splendid conditions in Manitoba, there are some of the grievances existing which are the source of so much trouble right here, so that you can-

not think that by suddenly jumping into Manitoba you are going to get rid of all the evils which necessarily, more or less, beset you in your everyday life and business.

THE PRESSING NEED—TRANSPORTATION.

I think I may take it for granted that we are all agreed in all parts of this western country that the great and most pressing need of this country is development, and that that development will come best and most quickly through some system of transportation. Transportation is the problem of the west,—the problem to be solved by Manitoba if you become part of that province; or by the provincial government of the Territories, if we become a province by ourselves. I am impressed with that necessity, but I am also impressed with the fact that with the rising fortune of this country, with our population increasing, our resources undeveloped, our credit unimpaired and untouched, we shall be able with our own provincial institutions to do as well, and to do as quickly, and to do as cheaply, what has been promised, to a certain extent, will be done by the province of Manitoba. I take this ground: that a new province with its vast resources all within itself, without any debt, will be, not only in as good a position, but in a better position to build up this country, than if you join the old province of Manitoba; for it does not matter what are the assets of Manitoba, or what the debt, there is no question that Manitoba has a debt; and consequently to the extent of that debt, her borrowing power is limited, while your borrowing powers are as unlimited as are the resources of the country. I lay it down as a general proposition that a new province of our own is a good deal better than for Eastern Assinibola to go into partnership with the old province of Manitoba.

RELIEF NO SOONER.

I also wish you to remember this: you are not going to get these advantages one bit more quickly by going into Manitoba. If it could be shown that by joining Manitoba you would get anything more quickly than you would by becoming a province by yourselves; or if it could be shown that you could become a part of Manitoba before a province could be created in the west, then I might agree that you had a very pressing argument, possibly narrow, possibly a little selfish, but yet an argument to go into Manitoba. But understand, you are not going to get into Manitoba one bit more quickly than you are likely to be formed into a province. I don't believe this great question will be dealt with piece-meal; I believe that parliament will deal with the great western questions at once. If they place a portion of our Territories into

Manitoba, they will at the same time, at the same session of parliament, create a new province. So do not flatter yourselves that you are going to get it a bit more quickly, that you are going to realize these advantages which are contingent upon going into Manitoba more quickly than by becoming part of a new great western province.

MANITOBA HAS A DEBT.

Now I do not wish to go into details with Mr. Roblin with regard to what constitutes the debt, the assets and liabilities of Manitoba. I am content to deal with the broader statement that Manitoba has a debt, has certain obligations. The value of these is a question of bookkeeping, and one upon which you would have to sit down and make your own calculations. I will content myself with the broader statement that Manitoba has a debt; and consequently Mr. Roblin's offer, so far as it presents itself to my mind, is practically the same offer as if your neighbor, with his farm improved—no doubt well improved, with the buildings and fences and drains and good roads, but with the inevitable mortgage,—asked you, with your unencumbered farm, to go into partnership with him. He cannot offer you anything but the value of co-operation in extending the fences, the buildings, the roads, and other improvements; and if you do agree to go in with him, you will have to put on a new mortgage; and that will rest in the first instance on the new portion. The farm with that mortgage may be no doubt splendidly improved, with a great many things that we, so long as our farm is unimproved, never could hope to get, but at the same time with the mortgage on it. I therefore lay it down as a principle, which you must accept, that anything that is done in improvements in the new portion, must be done on the credit of the added portion, so that you can either have it done on the credit of your own country as a part of the new province, or on the credit of your country as a part of Manitoba.

Mr. Roblin says that Manitoba has a debt of three million dollars for "ordinary purposes." Whether there is a debt for "ordinary" or extraordinary purposes, the admission is all I want. There is a debt, and that debt carries interest, and that interest is to be met out of ordinary revenue of the province; and consequently the ordinary revenues of the province will be so much lessened for other ordinary purposes. I am not finding fault with the debt. I believe debt is not a bad thing in itself. You cannot develop your great estate without debt. You recognize that principle in your school districts, in your towns and villages, and of course debt is a good thing; but the question is whether anybody else's debt is a good thing. I quite

agree with the idea of a debt. I don't care how the money was raised or how expended; all I say is—there is the debt, and the question for you to decide is whether you are willing to accept a portion of that debt, or form a province of your own, create your own debt, and spend your own money as you like.

I have heard it said this debt will not make any difference to the people because there is no direct taxation; but that is a very short sighted view of it. For every dollar of interest that has to be taken out of the ordinary revenue of the country, there is one dollar less to be spent for ordinary purposes; and one of the first charges on the income of the partnership—presuming you have made it—is for interest on the mortgage, whatever that mortgage may be. After that, whatever is left is available for general purposes.

BETTER LAWS IN THE TERRITORIES.

I lay down this as a further argument; that our laws and our institutions in the Territories are better suited to the people of the Territories than the laws of Manitoba, that they have been framed more with regard to the conditions of the people, and that they have enlarged and improved in keeping with the progress and development of the people. I do not wish, again, to criticize Manitoba laws; they may be admirably suited to the wants and interests of the people there; but I do say they are not good enough for us. Our laws are better, they are more modern conditions, they have grown up suited to a western country and western conditions; they have gone up by gradual growth, and it is not so in certain instances in Manitoba. Mr. Roblin has told you of the liberal law of exemption the farmers of Manitoba have. I don't know if the exemptions in Manitoba are any larger than they are in the Territories, but if they are, I can only say that I wish I owned the exemptions.

THE MUNICIPAL SYSTEM.

In Manitoba they have the municipal system; a system which is not suited to western conditions; a splendid system in Ontario, from where it is taken. Manitoba became a province all at once, by the stroke of a pen practically; and the people all having come from Ontario and the other older provinces thought, and very reasonably thought, that what was good in Ontario, and the other places I have mentioned, was also good there; so they introduced, *holus bolus*, practically the Ontario municipal system into Manitoba. We have had a few municipalities established in the Territories, but very few, and I look upon them, not as part of our system, but as exceptions to the general policy, which should be pursued in this country. So to make a com-

parson you must forget that you live in Indian Head municipality and remember that throughout the country there are very few similar organizations. Mind you, don't think I would say you will escape certain burdens by not having this system; don't think you will not have to organize and bear ordinary burdens of organization. That is just as certain as some other things are certain, such as death and taxes; but I do claim that the system of organization into municipalities—call it what you like—which must be followed out in this country, and which must be developed in this country, is not the Ontario system. It must be a system which we must work out by ourselves. I believe we have made considerable advance in that direction, and that we will be able, as our conditions require it, and as development makes it necessary, to go on and work out our own salvation in that line, and not introduce the cumbersome, expensive, and to a large extent not very useful systems which is in vogue in Ontario. Mr. Roblin says "Oh, but municipalities are not necessary if you join Manitoba." That is absolutely true. Municipalities are not necessary if you join Manitoba; but under the Manitoba system, and their provincial system of expenditure, how many roads would you get in a year? How many bridges? How many fireguards ploughed? How many wells bored? How many useful things done in a year if you don't go into the municipalities and do them by yourselves? That is a question for you to consider. You can go into Manitoba and say; we won't organize into municipalities. Well, according to the figures given you will get precious little done. You would not have any roads except possibly a colonization road now and then, a portion of a bridge paid for occasionally, and very occasionally. You would be forced to form into municipalities and build your own roads and improvements, and pay for them. That is the situation if you go into Manitoba. Mr. building roads and bridges. That is Roblin says they expend \$60,000 in in different municipalities, so that you would have to become a municipality before you could participate in that vote. For 1900, the Public Accounts of Manitoba show that there is not anything approaching the amount of money spent in Manitoba, which is as we are spending on roads and bridges, and public works today, besides having practically to undertake municipal institutions to get a share of the vote.

COMPARATIVE TAXATION.

Now I will give you a few figures with regard to the taxation in Manitoba, and the Territories today. A comparison between the municipal tax

in Manitoba and in the Territories is not of great importance because I do not believe in the present system of municipalities that you have in the Territories today. In Manitoba, including the Government levy, which Mr. Roblin has told you about, the average rate per quarter section, which is made the unit for taxation purposes, is \$11.75. That of course includes the provincial levy which amounts to something over \$130,000. Take your position in Indian Head today. If you were a Manitoba municipality you would not get any particular roads, bridges, or public improvements such as are being done under the present Territorial system, and in addition you would be called upon to include in your taxation your proportion of the \$130,000 which the provincial government would call upon you to contribute. In a general way I can say that during the past three years, not only have we not had to call upon the municipality of Indian Head to contribute towards the central revenue, but we have, on the contrary, expended something like \$3,000 a year in the municipality in building bridges and other public improvements. So that the difference between the Manitoba and Territorial system will be apparent.

In spite of the large taxation in Manitoba, in spite of their larger revenues, in spite of the fact that they have had provincial institutions all these years, in spite of their large population and great development; in spite of their large municipal and provincial indebtedness, they are really not a bit better off with regard to roads and bridges than we are in the Territories today. I make this statement and it can be corroborated by gentlemen in the room who are acquainted with the conditions in Manitoba and Eastern Assiniboia. I don't think either country is absolutely perfect by any means, but taking the average rural district in Manitoba, it is not better supplied with good roads and bridges and public improvements than the average rural district in Eastern Assiniboia. And, further, I say, we have a larger proportion of permanent structures, such as steel bridges and good roads in the Territories, in proportion, of course, to our area, than they have in Manitoba today. You can take certain portions of the country; for instance, you can start from the state of Montana and cross the boundary line into Alberta, and travel right through to Edmonton, crossing nine large, rapid rivers, without wetting your feet, because there are fine steel bridges over all of them. I do not believe similar conditions exist in Manitoba.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM.

I can say the same with regard to the school system of the Territories. Mr. Roblin has already admitted that

to some extent, and of course it is a matter which does not admit of any controversy, we have fortunately been able to give large grants to schools, and I hope we will be able to continue to give as large grants as possible. True, we are face to face with a reduction next year, but even next year the average rural school district in the Territories will be able to earn, roughly speaking, about twice as much as it could under the provincial system of Manitoba. Mr. Roblin says regarding school grants, that they have not the power to draw on the Dominion government for the purpose of paying large grants. Well, my experience of drawing on the Dominion government for money to pay school grants is not so flattering as he may have led you to imagine. We get a certain amount of money, the same as Manitoba does, a large portion of which—about 40 per cent.—we devote to giving our children an education; but we do not get that money as a favor; we are just as much entitled to a subsidy from Ottawa as Manitoba. The only difference is that Manitoba gets something in proportion to her rights as a province, while we do not get anything in proportion to our rights. Of course, as time goes on, as our settlements fill up, as more land is brought under taxation, as people are better able to help themselves, I have no hesitation in saying that our school grants will gradually be lowered. But that is not the point: at present they are larger than in Manitoba, and it will be a good many years before we get down to the same figure as in Manitoba. And these, after all, are the years which most concern us. The pioneer stages in a country are the stages which need most help, and it is the people who are in the country who are undergoing the privations and trials of the pioneer stage who must be helped; and if we can hold out inducements that our grants will not be lowered very much or very rapidly, it is a good inducement in itself.

PUBLIC WORKS.

In contrasting the public works policy of the two provinces we find that in 1900 we spent \$175,000 on roads, bridges, dams, ferries, water supply, fireguards, and other things which are done by the department throughout the country. In the same year, in Manitoba, according to the public accounts, I find they spent \$39,997 for somewhat similar purposes out of a vote of \$61,518.85, but that amount was reduced in the subsequent year to \$50,000. That amount of money is spent under the Manitoba system in helping the municipalities to build bridges, or in opening up colonization roads. This is a contrast in itself. The great, progressive province of Manitoba, with all its advantages and privileges, is able from the general revenue to spend something like \$40,000

a year on public works and improvements, throwing the burden of all the rest on the people through the municipalities, while we are able to spend \$175,000 with our very much smaller income. That is another point in favor of our policy. There is no reason, unless we adopt the municipal system, and adopt other unnecessary and extravagant things, there is no reason under the provincial system, with larger revenues, why the same policy should not be followed up. In Eastern Assinibola, what, after all, are today the main problems for you, as farmers, to consider—the things which you would expect to be changed by any change of system, and of course, changed for the better? Speaking generally, they can be grouped under these heads:

Good Roads.—And there is the minor question of transportation. You may have a railway, but you must have good roads to haul your products to the railway, and the streams must be bridged.

Railways.

Schools.

And in certain portions of Assinibola you want a good water supply.

Now, I think those are the four principal things the public require in this part of the country. If these wants could be reasonably well supplied, and if I could make the promise to you tonight that they would be supplied under the present system, you would be glad to accept that system.

GOOD ROADS AND SCHOOLS.

With regard to roads, unless you formed into municipalities in Manitoba, you would get precious few roads built for you. Under our expenditure for that purpose, besides not them, you have a very much larger ex-
having to assume the burdensome machinery of the municipal system of Manitoba, as well as being liable to the provincial levy.

Secondly—There is no question that you are fairly well contented with our school system, and if you are to change, you will not change because you think you will get your school grants reduced.

The subject of water supply comes under the heading of public works, and the same argument applies.

THE RAILWAY QUESTION.

The only other question is the railway question. The problem is: Will you obtain those railways more quickly or more advantageously as a part of Manitoba than you will as a part of a large province to the west of Manitoba, having power to settle that question for itself.

A voice.—Not at all.

Mr. Haultain, I agree with that gentleman, and I will show why I agree. In the first place, as a province by yourselves, you will have the same powers exactly as the province of Manitoba would have, if you were

a part of it. Every province has the same powers with regard to the construction and encouragement of railways. You will be no better off in that respect. You will also have those powers untrammelled by any debt or any existing contract, which, I suppose, would naturally be an advantage. Mr. Roblin lays a good deal of stress on what has been done by Manitoba, and earns your merited applause by showing what a splendid state of affairs they have there. But that does not help you. It does not bring your wheat a mile nearer to the railway, and does not bring a single mile of road into the west. Any extension of the Manitoba system must be the result of two things. First—sufficient traffic to warrant the building of a railway; and secondly—further encouragement, if necessary, on the part of the provincial government whatever that government may be. The railways in Manitoba, as regards the obligations incurred, have exhausted themselves. They have got their money's worth; so that you could not expect these railways to do anything more for what they have got. If you want them to go any further, you would have to give them the same encouragement as you would to others. So that you are right up against the question: if you go into Manitoba, you are going to extend the railway system by a new deal. That means, by a new mortgage. And the mortgage is going to fall on the unmortgaged part of the patrimony. The credit of the unmortgaged part will be the principal thing behind the men who raise the money. It is going to be raised on your part—the new farm; it won't be done on the old farm, because that is already mortgaged.

Why should you join Manitoba because they have done all these things? Mr. Roblin says a sympathetic wave of railway extension, and reduction of rates is bound to come here to Indian Head, as a result of the policy inaugurated in Manitoba. There is no reason why you should join Manitoba simply because they have accomplished these things. These advantages cannot be got unless you encourage them, and I say you can encourage them better with your own powers and resources, free from debt, than you could joined to Manitoba, which is already mortgaged. The new province would be free from debt, and would therefore have greater borrowing powers than the old province, which already has its obligations.

RADIATING FROM WINNIPEG.

The railway system of the west in many senses is practically fixed as radiating from Winnipeg. You may get a southern connection later on, but the main system is fixed, as I have said, and railways are not going to stop at an imaginary line which you

may draw on the map and say, "This is the boundary line between Manitoba and the Territories," if there is business to be done on the other side of that line. And I am certain of this, if any of these systems come to the boundary line, it will not be necessary for your government, if you have a new province, to offer much inducement to make them go in and do business the other side of that line. The development of this part of the country is quite enough in itself to tempt railways to come in.

A voice.—But that will be a long time.

Mr. Haultain.—Yes; it is a long time, but not so very long in the history of a country, or your province. Manitoba has been a province for thirty years; she has had the power to encourage railways and incur debt; and yet, they have only reached the present blissful state today. I don't think we will have to wait for thirty years after we get provincial powers; I don't think we will have to wait two years.

A voice.—You cannot get the Manitoba railways to carry your products.

Mr. Haultain.—It is not a Manitoba railway; it is a railway built in Manitoba, and a railway will carry anything you pay for. It is a western railway. A bushel of wheat is just as good in Indian Head as it is further east; and a little bit better. Railways are not going to stop at the boundary if there is business to do further west. Cannot assistance be given just as well, and better, by a new province, with all its resources untouched, than by an old province that is mortgaged? You heard about this Canadian Northern railway. I am convinced of this—and I believe the next twelve months will prove it—that that railway and the C. P. R. are running a pretty tight race to see which will get into the Battleford country first.

NEW TERRITORIAL RAILWAYS.

This "unprogressive" government of yours, which, in the language of some prophets "hibernates" the greater part of the time, has already taken up the railway question—although that question is not right up to us at the present moment—still we have taken it up. I had a long interview with Mr. Whyte, of the C. P. R., some months ago, when he spent two days in Regina for the purpose of getting information which we were able to give him, regarding location of settlements in the Territories, with a view to discovering where it was necessary, and where it would pay to build branch lines. We gave him this information; which was obtainable in the local improvement and school departments; and as a result of our endeavors—and I don't think I am dreaming at all—there is now a line practically surveyed running north from Moosomin. I do not wish to be too much of a prophet.—

but I think I can be just as prophetic as Mr. Roblin—but I think I am safe in saying that that line will be built, and it will practically relieve the settlers north of the Qu'Appelle Valley, within the next year. Now, I don't want you to tell me next year, if that railway is not built, that I promised you a railway on the north side of the Qu'Appelle Valley. You may say my judgment is not sound, and that I jump at conclusions, but I believe in the almost immediate construction of that railway. They have got to build out there, because there are large questions in view. It is not for love of the C. P. R. that I say this, because any roads—even the C. P. R., no road at all. Another railway that is going to be built will run from the Moose Mountain country into Regina, opening up the country between the main line and the Soo line. I believe this road is to be pushed through in the course of a year. I do not say that because I had an interview with Mr. Whyte, and gave him certain information; but it is because the actual conditions warrant, in the eyes of a business corporation, its building these railways, and because the fact that these conditions existed was brought before the railway authorities. I am glad that I have not to outbid Mr. Roblin in promising anything specific in the matter of railways, because I do not believe any public man can stand up and positively say beforehand—with the difficulties such as the federal consent, etc., to be secured—what railways will be constructed. Mr. Roblin has told you that if you join Manitoba, the present progressive railway policy will be continued. That is all you have got. You have not got a line of railway built, and you have not got a prospect of a line of railway other than lines of railway which could be built or encouraged by yourselves, on your own resources, on the credit of your own province—if you like to form a province of your own.

Why should we join Manitoba? We have nothing to gain. Anything Mr. Roblin can promise you, I can just as firmly promise you can be done, and will be done, and must be done, by any provincial government that is formed. I have been accused for not formed. I am not here to make promises for the provincial government to be laying down the policy of the first provincial government, before the province is formed, and while we are here tonight discussing whether you form a province or not, and while the question of one, two or three provinces is still to be settled. I have been asked: What will your policy be as leader of a provincial government? I am going to wait until I am leader of the provincial government before I lay down a policy; and I don't think anyone has a right to ask me, either personally, or on behalf of my gov-

ernment, to lay down a railway policy for the future; but I will say this, as a public man, as a man who hopes to remain in public life in this country for a few years, if possible, that I will be a most earnest advocate of opening up the country and developing the resources of this country. I am not going to tell the people that if I am leader of the provincial government we will build certain railways, because I believe they will have these railways before that happy event arrives, because I am as firmly convinced as any farmer who has wheat in his granary and cannot get it transported out of the country, that the great problem of the day is the transportation problem. I am equally convinced of this: that any government that has power to deal with this question, and fails to do so, will certainly not last very long. As a public man, looking forward to some years still of life and useful work in this country, looking forward to trying to retain the confidence of the people, I do not think I can possibly hope to do so unless I carry out a very progressive transportation policy, when I have the power to do so.

Why join Manitoba? Are you going to get anything by it that you could not get for yourselves and get better for yourselves? If you form part of what I would like to see—one big province in the west—you will have unlimited resources; you will be able to do things no province in Canada has ever been able to do; and you will have no need to ask your big brother—Manitoba—to help you out in doing business; but, rather, you will be able to do it much better than he.

A MATTER OF SENTIMENT.

While I believe this is a matter of business, there is a little sentiment in it. Men cannot live together, found their institutions and make their laws, and grow up together for years, without having a certain amount of sentiment about retaining that connection. I believe the people of the Territories will be actuated by sentiment in this matter. I believe they will say: we came into the country together, suffered trials and underwent pioneer privations, and gradually emerged from the one-man power as mentioned by your chairman, to the responsible system. Let us stand together still, let us face the future together, let us take whatever the future has in store for us. I believe to cut our institutions in two, to throw away the benefits of many years building up of institutions, is much more than a sentimental question, and is a matter of business. I would say to Mr. Roblin, who has come so boldly to woo us in our own homes, and through him to the province of Manitoba: We anticipate and will be proud of your future success; we will engage in a friendly rivalry in the path of progress, but in

reply to your proposal will adopt the language of a famous Governor-General of Canada and say: We do not dream of any nearer connection; we can never be more than a sister province to you, but in maiden meditation fancy free we will dream our dream apart, of growing towns and villages, and broadening harvests, and a great stretch of fertile territory, which is sure to be the home of a vast population of loyal, industrious and contented men and women.

THE AUTONOMY QUESTION.

I now come to what I consider to be the most important part of my statement tonight. Although there may be certain advantages, and although present conditions may prompt some of you to feel like rushing into almost anything to get rid of your disabilities, yet I do not think any of you take this wooing of Mr. Roblin's seriously. The most important part of my statement I still have to make, that is: what is the proposition which I have made to the Dominion government and which I now make to you, and through you to the people of the Territories, with regard to the future of this great western country? There are parts of the Territories where I would be justified in taking up considerable time in arguing that we are not quite as well off as we ought to be. It is only within the last few months, even within your progressive settlements, that you began seriously to believe that you had to have provincial establishment. I believe if I had come down here two years ago and made a speech in favour of provincial autonomy, I would have met with a cold reception from many of you.

If you have followed events in the legislature, and the statements made by the members of the government of the Territories for the past two years, I don't believe you will have any difficulty in anticipating what I am going to say tonight. I have said it on a dozen platforms in the most pointed way, and also in a speech which circulated from one end of the country to the other, in which I do not only indicated the terms we should demand but also the time when this change should take place, that is, the end of the term of the present legislature. I don't think I need take up any of your time by showing that some change is necessary. I think the applause you gave Mr. Roblin when he mentioned the disabilities you are suffering and what Manitoba has been able to accomplish; and when he promised, if you would join that province, these privileges would be extended to you—all seem to me to improve my case. In fact, if I had needed to prove that side of my case, I would want nothing better than that Mr. Roblin should come here and make the whole of his speech, in order to convince you that the only remedy

for the existing conditions, is, provincial institutions as soon as we can possibly obtain them. The Territorial constitution is not sufficient. We have worked under it up to a certain point, and I think we have exhausted our usefulness. The country has arrived at a point where further development is necessary, and that development can only be brought about by the exercise of the larger powers which we do not now possess, and which are possessed by the provinces. We are forced to this position by two or three conditions, which I shall proceed to mention.

Population has been pouring in upon us. Every year, according to the immigration returns, 25 to 30 or 40 thousand people. Every man who comes in is a direct advantage to the Dominion at large, because he contributes to the Dominion revenues. He is not a direct advantage to the local government because he is an expense to us. Our revenues are not increasing according to the population. We pointed out to the Dominion government that our expenses were increasing, that we needed money, but without avail. Last year we went down and showed them that we needed for ordinary, everyday purposes \$600,000 per year. I think I proved to them that we were entitled to it, on our population in comparison with the grants given the provinces, but to no avail, as we received little more than half what we asked.

PROVINCIAL POWERS NECESSARY.

The question is, how are we going to remedy this state of things? The Dominion government have failed to remedy our financial position, therefore we must do it ourselves. We need the powers; we need the money; we can only get them both under provincial institutions. Then there is another side of it which appeals to the people of the Territories. We are doing out of our scanty revenue a great deal that belongs to the capital expenditure. I do not believe in debt, except under certain conditions, but in your school districts, your towns and municipalities, do you not anticipate the future? If you build school houses you don't build them out of current revenue; it would not be fair to the ratepayer of today that he should pay for all the permanent improvements such as schools. You borrow money on debentures, spread over a term of years, making the people coming afterwards, who benefit by these institutions, pay their just share. The same principle applies with regard to a great deal of work now being done in the country at the expense of the pioneers. Every steel bridge we put in is a capital expenditure. We have to do it out of our revenue, and therefore our revenue is reduced that much and

there is just that much less money to spend on other requirements. Every main road, every permanent improvement, is something which will last for many years to come. It will be used ten years hence, the same as it is used today, while you, the people of today, are paying for it. Right now is the time when we should have adequate means with which to do pioneer work. It is not fair that the whole work of developing this great country should fall in the comparatively small number who are inhabiting it today, because, after all, the development of the country means a great deal more for Canada as a whole than for you individually. I don't suppose you would get a cent more for your grain of the population was twice as great, than you do today.

Some people say we are not ready for the change. So this I reply. In a country like this, growing in population, expending in resources, peopled by those who have been accustomed to a large measure of self-government, we have gradually worked up to the point, and I think the people of the Territories are just as capable of managing their own affairs under a provincial government as the people of any province in the Dominion.

Besides the theoretical reasons in favor of provincial government, there are the practical reasons—the dollars and cents arguments, for we will get more money under the provincial system even if we do not get more than Manitoba. If I had time to go into the figures I could prove this, but it is not worth while, because I believe we will get better terms.

ONE OR TWO PROVINCES?

Now, the question is: shall we have one province, or two provinces? or will you go into Manitoba, and a province be formed for the west? or will there be two provinces running north and south as some gentlemen propose? You have quite a variety to choose from. I have had to express an opinion at Ottawa, and my opinion is in favour of one province.

A voice: You will never have a railway then.

Mr. Haultain: I don't know exactly what the gentleman means by that, but it would strike me that one big province—rich, wealthy and populous—can just as well build up a railway system as a little province that is not so rich, wealthy and populous. And then, you can control such a railway. If you cut this country up into little provinces, you are going to have a Manitoba railway, and an Assinibola railway, and an Alberta railway, and a Saskatchewan railway. Each province will control the line in the area within that province, and you will have three, or four, or five provincial governments trying to control freight rates, or control little pieces of a great trunk

continental railway. You can imagine what a "fist" they will make of it.

A voice: We are farmers, and the west are ranchers.

Mr. Haultain: That is perfectly true, and for that reason we will have a very much better country. We will have ranches and farms and other things; we do not want a province made up of one big wheat field, or one big cattle ranch and coal mine; we want wheat fields, cattle ranches and coal mines, and every other thing that goes to make up a big, rich country.

ONE PROVINCE NOT TOO LARGE.

Some people urge that one province would be too large. Canada, under the federal system, is not too large for one government at Ottawa, dealing with a variety of important subjects. The United States is not too large to be controlled by one central government. In case one province was formed in the west, we should not want to take in a portion of the far north. We do not want a lot of those islands around the Arctic circle, and a great deal of the country further south of that, because it would only involve administration without any return. But no matter how much of the north we took in, there would be no population, and consequently no responsibilities or expense resting upon us. The actual area, however, to be administered by the provincial government, I have proposed, would be something over 400,000 square miles. Now the present area of Quebec is 347,000 square miles—not so much less than an actual area to be administered here. British Columbia has 383,000 square miles, which is still nearer our prospective area. Coming down to the Commonwealth of Australia, which has lately federated very much as we did in Canada some years ago, I find the figures help me considerably. In Queensland, which up to the federation was a self-governing colony, the population is 498,000, and area 668,000 square miles—more than twice the area of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Assinibola put together, and with a population which I think I may say without any great stretch of imagination, we will approximate to within certainly the next five years. The case of South Australia is still more striking, with a population of 360,000 and an area of 903,000 square miles—more than twice that of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Assinibola, with a large piece of the north thrown in. Then there is West Australia with a population of 168,000—about the same as our own—and an area of 975,000 square miles. Self-government in Australia has been carried pretty far, and I do not think we can criticise their advance in that particular. Their government is just as advanced, and in some ways more advanced, in regard to railway questions, as we are in Canada, yet

they will administer these enormous areas of country with a population which is equal to the population which we will have in the west in the next three years.

DIVERSITY, NOT HOSTILITY OF INTEREST.

Then again, diversity of interest is not hostility of interest. There is plenty of room in this country for the rancher and for the farmer to carry on their respective industries successfully without squabbling. We want all those things. We want a big province, and want a lot of industries established in it. Can any gentleman propose a solution which will map out a province which would not have diversity of interests? The province of Manitoba has diversity of interest in its ranching and farming; Eastern Assiniboia has the same; and in Alberta we are not all ranching; the whole of the north country is a farming district just as you are here. So that you cannot cut up the country without having diversity of interest, and that same argument will apply to the smallest province you can suggest, as much as to the large one. Then again, we have been for a number of years working together. We have a legislature with representatives from all these different parts. There has been no clashing, and I have never heard of the west or east fighting over things which each thought they should have. If they required different laws, we made one law applicable to the west and one applicable to the east. So that I say, where could we cut our institutions in two? We founded a school system. Why should we cut it in two for the sake of establishing two provinces instead of one? We founded other institutions which are working together. Why should we suddenly cut them in two, simply for purposes we do not understand? Two provinces will only mean duplication of government machinery. You cannot put your hand on any point on the map and say: At this point there should be a change, of government, at that point there is such a diversity that harmonious government is impossible; and you cannot say that at any particular point on the map, facility for self-government ceases. If you establish two provinces, you would simply double the government, double the legislature, and double every expense, as it would be necessary to double all the institutions which we need at the present time. That reminds me that Mr. Roblin says the Dominion government is paying for our lunatics. The Dominion government votes the money, but we are paying for it. Every cent of it is being charged up to us; every cent will be included in the debt which we will have to assume.

Then there has been the proposition of cutting the country into two prov-

inces, made up of two long, narrow strips, north and south of a certain line. You only need to look at the map and draw these two long lines—length without breadth—to show you what a ridiculous proposition it is. You would have everything that is argued against in the larger province, aggravated in each of them. If there is one province, there will not be any wrench in the change. I don't believe any of you would know that a change had been made when you awoke next morning. For a time at least you would have the same men representing you; you would have the same people, and I suppose you would have the same ideas; but you would have more powers. Of course, you would have to elect a new legislature in due course.

What are the prospects for a new province? They are good. Even if we do not get better terms than Manitoba—which I consider most unjust—we would be better off than we are today. But we hope for better, and even if we did not hope for better, we certainly should not be satisfied with less.

MUST HAVE GOOD TERMS.

When I say we want a province, I mean we want it on decent financial terms, and not merely for the sake of calling ourselves a province. We could get along as Territories if we could do as we want to do. We want to be a province in order to have the advantages and benefits which provincial institutions would give us, and on proper terms. When I talk of a province, the idea of decent, generous terms is inseparable to what my idea of a province is. In fact, to put it concisely, what we want in the west, and what we have a right to expect is, to be established as a province with equal rights with the rest of the provinces of the Dominion. We do not ask more, and we will not be willing to take less; we want equal rights with the other provinces. When we came out to these western prairies, we did not give up any of our birthright as Canadians, and it does not seem to me right that when we take up the burdens of a province we should be started out to take our place as a province in the Confederation on any less advantageous terms than the older provinces. I say the same for Manitoba, and I think we will have to make the fight together. I think Mr. Roblin will have to step in and fight with us. If he does not fight for you as a part of Manitoba, he will have to be with you for a reconsideration of certain questions which affect the west.

THE TERMS PROPOSED.

What are the terms that I propose? In the first place, there is the grant for government, which Manitoba has, all the provinces have, and which ranges from \$30,000 to \$80,000.

Then there is the per capita allowance of 80 cents per head, up to a certain point. I go farther than they do in Manitoba, and say: why should that grant cease at 400,000 of a population, as it does in some of the provinces? Ontario gets a per capita allowance on over a million and a third population; Quebec gets a grant on the basis of over a million. That grant is given for purposes of government, and it does not seem fair to me, simply because Ontario and Quebec had big populations when they entered Confederation, that they should get a grant larger than we should eventually get according to our population. If the Dominion resources cannot stand perpetually increasing the grants all round, the increase in any province should cease when the population reaches the limit of population which forms the basis upon which the largest is now receiving its grant. Why, when we have a population of a million—as we expect to have not very long hence—why should we get 80 cents per head up to only 400,000, while Ontario receives 80 cents per head on the basis of over a million? The province of today, like the child of today, has the same rights as its older brothers. I have asked to be dealt with on this principle.

Then there is the debt question. Mr. Roblin has explained that Manitoba gets interest on a certain sum—something like three million dollars. The origin of that debt is this: when the older provinces formed the Confederation, a certain number of the debts of the provinces were assumed by Canada, and Canada as a whole—ourselves included—is paying interest on these debts today. It amounts to \$77,000,000, and as Sir Alexander Galt, who was finance minister in Canada at that time, said, that debt was largely incurred for the purpose of developing the older provinces and building railroads for the purpose of carrying out the products of the country and bringing in supplies for its people. It is in respect of that we are entitled to a certain refund. Manitoba is getting interest on about \$3,000,000 per year. I think we would be entitled to interest on a great deal larger sum, and have made a demand in this connection which will be discussed further on.

CONTROL OF LANDS.

The principle question, after all, is the question of lands. I contend that the province, when it is formed, in the west, is as much entitled to the benefit of the Crown lands of that country, as any of the older provinces. Of course it may be a very hard thing to establish. We may have a very big fight for it, but the fact that it is a hard thing to establish, is no reason why it should not be asked and demanded. I will tell you what the lands of the older pro-

vinces meant, what in the words of a gentleman who helped to frame the Confederation compact, the lands of the older provinces meant. Here is what Sir Alexander Galt said:

"It will be observed that in the plan proposed there are certain sources of local revenue reserved to the local governments arising from Territorial domain, lands, mines, etc. In the case of Canada a large sum will be received from these resources, but it may be that some of them, such as the Municipal loan fund, will become exhausted in course of time. We may, however, place just confidence in the development of our resources, and repose in the belief that we shall find in our Territorial domain, our valuable mines and our fertile lands, additional sources of revenues far beyond the requirements of the public service."

That is what the lands meant to the older provinces, and what our lands mean to us, if we get them. He goes on to say:

"If nevertheless, the local revenues become inadequate, it will be necessary for the local governments to have resort to direct taxation."

To the older provinces it was said; There are your lands, timber and minerals which are a good source of revenue; when you exhaust them, you will have to resort to direct taxation. But, if the lands, timber and minerals are withheld from us we are invited to direct taxation at once. I don't think we ought to be left in that position. Some people say our claim to the land is absurd; but the claim to the public lands has been made before, under precisely similar conditions. It was equally absurd in that case, and yet it was granted. I suppose you know Canada did not own all its lands; they had to fight with the Imperial authorities, just as we will probably have to fight with our federal authorities. Here is what we said at that time. This was said with regard to one of the claims by the old province of Quebec;

"They required the management of the waste lands to be given up to them. The object of this extraordinary claim, now for the first time put forward in the history of colonization, was for the avowed purpose of controlling emigration from Great Britain, which they had already impeded by a capitation tax, by refusing to establish an efficient quarantine, or to give aid to the improvement of the harbor of Montreal, by endeavoring to alarm settlers on the score of insecurity of title, and in an attempt to ruin the banks."

So that you see the people of Canada—our fathers and grandfathers—claimed what I am now claiming, "an

extraordinary claim" made for the first time "in the history of colonization." Then they laid down this proposition and it has since been admitted:

"That in any new discovered or newly occupied country the land belongs to the government of the nation taking possession of it, and that settlers in it, so long as they retain the character only of emigrants from the mother country, can claim no more than what has been granted to them as individuals; but that when a distinct boundary has been assigned to them, and they come to be incorporated into a body politic, with a power of legislation for their internal affairs, the territory within their boundary becomes, as a matter of right, the property of the body politic, or of the inhabitants, and is to be disposed of according to rules framed by their local legislature, and no longer by that of the parent state."

On this point the Commissioners reported as follows:—

"This proposition rests, as we understand it, entirely upon abstract grounds, and we believe that we are authorized in saying that it has never been entertained by Great Britain or any other colonizing power. That the ungranted lands in any colony remain the property of the Crown, has, on the contrary, we believe, been the universally received doctrine in Great Britain, and although the Constitutional Act does not expressly assert a right of which its framers probably never contemplated a doubt, the lands of the Province are mentioned in the 36th clause as being thereafter to be granted by His Majesty and his successors."

That was the claim that was made, and it was resisted, but they gradually admitted it. In the early days Lord Durham, whose report is one of the most important documents in our constitutional history, said:

"The country which has founded and maintained these colonies, at a vast expenditure of blood and treasure, may justly expect its compensation in turning their unappropriated resources to the account of its own redundant population; they are the rightful patrimony of the English people, the ample appanage which God and nature have set aside in the New World for those whose lot has assigned them an insufficient portion in the old. . . . the old"

Under wise and free institutions these great advantages may yet be secured to Your Majesty's subjects, and a connection, secured by the link of kindred origin and mutual benefits, may continue to bind to the British Empire the ample territories of its North American Provinces, and the large and flourishing population by which they will assuredly be filled."

Lord Gray says:

"The waste lands of the vast colonial possessions of the British Empire are held by the crown, as trustee for the inhabitants of that Empire at large, and not for the inhabitants of the particular province, divided by arbitrary geographical limits, in which any such waste land happens to be situate. Otherwise the consequence would follow that the first inhabitants of those vast provinces (if possessing these representative institutions which arise as of right in ordinary British colonies) are indefeasibly entitled to administer all the lands and land revenue of the great unexplored tract called a province, of which they may occupy an extremity, wholly without regard to the nation which has founded the settlement, perhaps at a great expense, in order to serve as a home for her own emigrants and a market for her own industry."

Now you see that when Canada and the colonies asked for their lands, they were met by the Imperial authorities with exactly the same argument as is now advanced with regard to the Northwest lands, and they had to give in because in all colonial history, the Imperial authorities have had to give in and admit the just claim of the colonies to the control of their own lands. Now we stand in the same position. We say: Deal with us on the same terms, mete to us the same measure of justice with regard to lands as was meted to you by the Imperial government in days gone by. That is the position of your government today. You can have no doubt as to what my position is and has been. My proposition is to have inserted in our constitution a clause that all the lands, timber and minerals shall belong to the province.

LANDS GRANTED TO RAILWAYS.

Now there is another side to this land question—the railway lands. In addition to our claim for lands which are expropriated, we also—if we have any right to lands at all—have a right to lands which have been alienated. The one claim hangs on the other, and we have a double right as to lands given for railway purposes. Millions of acres have been given, or are reserved at the present time, for grants to railways. This granting of lands to railways is a federal matter.

LAND GRANTS TO RAILWAYS.

In all the other provinces, railways were built at the expenses of Canada as a whole, and we are helping to pay for them. When they are built in the Territories, on the contrary, they are not built at the expense of Canada, but at the expense of Territorial Lands alone. My idea is that the indebtedness thus represented should be put where it belongs—on the Dominion, and not on the Territories alone. That is the

proposition. These land grants have even been given for railways not in the Territories. Out of nine railways aided by millions of acres of land, only four are entirely in the Territories. The others are partially or entirely in Manitoba; and I will explain how Manitoba was able to build that railway we heard of, into the Territories. The Great North-Western Central railway has a grant reserved of 703,000 acres, of which they have earned 320,000 acres. Their mileage is entirely in Manitoba, and only 5,800 acres were selected there. So that this railway has earned 320,000 acres for building a railway entirely in Manitoba, which with the exception of 5,800 acres, must be paid, and is going to be paid, out of our lands. That is the way they get their railway connections in Manitoba. Then there is the Manitoba and North-Western railway. Roughly speaking, one-fifth of its mileage is in the Territories, and the other four-fifths in Manitoba, and I think nearly the whole of the grant of land is in the Territories. The Manitoba and South-Western has a land grant of 681,000 acres of land reserved. I think the railway is practically all in Manitoba, and the acres they get are all in the Territories.

Then we will take the case of British Columbia in dealing with the C. P. R. case. When that province joined the Dominion, the good faith of Canada was pledged to the construction of the C. P. R. by the terms granted to British Columbia. That railway was not built for us. It was built for the benefit of Canada. As the Dominion Government did not have any land in the province of British Columbia, the province gave the Dominion a similar acreage of their lands per mile as was given to the mile in Manitoba, and the Territories, and for that—which was simply a sea of rocks, not even carrying the minerals—Canada is paying \$100,000 a year to British Columbia, and we in the Territories are helping to pay it. Our land is taken to build the C. P. R.; British Columbia gives up a little land and gets \$100,000 a year for it. We have to pay practically the great bulk of the grant, and besides that we have a nice little exemption which adds to our taxation as well. The original grant to the C. P. R. was \$25,000,000 and 25,000,000 acres of land. The government then took back 6,793,014 acres at a valuation of \$10,183,521. That was practically the land grant for building the C. P. R. from Callender; a point in Ontario to another point in Ontario, which was where it was joined by the then Government road built from Selkirk. So that in the first place they have a

grant of 6,793,014 acres of our land, and afterwards bought it back for \$10,183,521, and we are helping to pay the interest on that amount.

The balance of the C. P. R. grant is something over 18,000,000 acres; of that there are 2,500,000 acres in Manitoba, leaving all the rest of the 16,000,000 acres to be taken from the Territories. This land grant was given for the building of 1,250 miles—that is the central section of Selkirk to Kamloops—divided as follows: in Manitoba 220 miles, in the Territories 760 miles, and in British Columbia 270 miles. Manitoba, according to the mileage, should contribute 2,750,000 acres but they have only reserved 2,500,000 acres in Manitoba for that purpose; so that 250,000 acres of our land must be taken to pay for the building of that portion of the road which runs through Manitoba. All the acreage for that portion of it which runs to Kamloops, B. C. is also taken from the northwest lands. So that you see we are getting it all around. What is our position? We are paying interest on the original loan of \$25,000,000, along with the rest of the people of Canada; we are paying interest on the \$10,000,000 for the Ontario section; there is also the little item of nearly 16,000,000 acres of our land for the construction of the road; and our share of the \$100,000 per annum given to British Columbia. In addition to that, the C. P. R. has over 1,600,000 acres of land reserved in the Territories for the following roads: Deloraine and Napinka, Glenbore and Souris, Kemnay and Estevan, and Pipestone branches. Only half of the Kemnay and Estevan branch is in the Territories and the Pipestone branch has first come in. Now you understand, for the building of these branch lines in Manitoba they have reserved in the Battleford country 1,900,000 acres of our lands to pay for the building of railways to draw the Manitoba farmers' wheat out, I am not grudging Manitoba a single one of these railways, and I don't blame Manitoba for these land grants. The blame belongs elsewhere. Our acres are going to build Manitoba's miles.

Take the Great Northern Railway. A considerable portion of their 10,000,000 acres grant must be in the Territories, because they have not land in Manitoba. The portions of that railway, for which this grant has to be earned, are altogether in Manitoba. They build not only our railways, but these in Manitoba, at the expense of our lands. How did they treat the older provinces? In the provinces, up to the 30th June, 1901, there is a Dominion debt of \$166,000,000 for railways, which, of course, falls upon us along with the rest of the citizens of Canada, interest on which we have to pay in increasing proportion as our population increases.

There are ninety railways, each of which is wholly within a province, and the subsidies for them are at the cost of the Territories along with the rest of Canada. At the same time we have to bear the whole cost of railways in the Territories out of our own lands.

DEMAND EQUAL RIGHTS.

Our contention is that Canada should bear the cost, whether it is for the C. P. R. with its 6,000 miles of track, or the Phillipsburg Junction railway, two-thirds of a mile in length. The burden should fall alike all over the Dominion. There should be equal rights in the railway burden, the same as in all other Dominion matters. We should not be called upon to pay an additional burden, or a single cent, which the people of the older provinces are not called upon to pay. We are paying directly and indirectly. I have made a claim that all lands which have been taken for Dominion purposes should be dealt with in connection with our debt, at a certain fixed rate, and that for every acre, there should be a dollar bearing interest at 5 per cent. If we are to be charged for building railroads in other provinces of Canada, and western roads are built entirely upon the credit of our own lands, we should receive interest on the price of those lands.

C. P. R. EXEMPTION.

With regard to the C. P. R. exemption the act says:

"The Canadian Pacific railway, and all stations and station grounds, work shops, buildings, yards and other property, rolling stock and appurtenances required and used for the construction and working thereof, and capital stock of the company, shall be forever free from taxation by the Dominion, or by any province hereafter to be established, or by any municipal corporation therein, and the lands of the company in the Northwest Territories, until they are either sold or occupied, shall also be free from such taxation for twenty years after the grant thereof from the Crown.

I suppose there are few local improvement districts, or school districts, that have not felt the injustice of this exemption. Every road built, every school constructed, goes towards building up and enhancing the value of the enormous land grants to these corporations. It not only means that, but it means taxation. These exemptions fall hardly upon the people of the west, and there is no justification for them. I have already shown how much we have contributed to the building of this great national undertaking. In addition to these palpable impositions, we have the further imposition of the exemptions to bear. It really means a tax, for it releases a large amount of taxable property from taxation. More than that,

suppose we form a big province and are called upon to deal with competing lines of railway, we could not begin to deal with them unless we gave them the exemptions which the C. P. R. now have. It practically fixes one condition upon which competing railways can be got in the west. I have called the attention of the government to these exemptions, and have demanded that they put a clause in our constitution providing for their extinction upon such terms as may be just, but at the cost of the Dominion.

INCREASED PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.

REPRESENTATION.

These are the main points of my provincial proposition. The principal things we have contended for are; compensation for lands, ownership and control of our lands, and freedom from exemption of the C. P. R. There is the further question of parliamentary representation. In this respect we stand in an unfortunate position if we are formed into a province within the next year. If we are entitled to six members before the census was taken, we are entitled, by reason of the rapidly increasing population, to seven now. I have taken a medium stand and said: This representation is to run for practically ten years, until the next census is taken. We are not entitled to ten representatives now, but will at the end of that time, be entitled to more than ten; but give us ten as a fair, medium figure, and we will be satisfied. I think in the west we are entitled to at least that number, because I believe we will have 250,000 of a population three years hence—when the general elections are most likely to be held—to base that representation on. Of course we will also ask for proportionately increased representation in the Senate. Representation means a good deal to us in the immediate future. Unfortunately these questions are not dealt with as questions of arithmetic; they are in a sense political questions, and in establishing our rights, it will depend ultimately on a large, united representation from the west; and I do not believe we will secure these rights in their entirety until we get it. We will get some of the things we ask, but not all, until we are strong enough to demand them and enforce our rights. So that parliamentary representation is a very important question today.

ARE WE CLAIMING TOO MUCH.

These terms may be called visionary, but I do not care for that. My duty to the people, as I conceive it, is to first come to a conclusion as to what I believe are the rights of the people of this country. I would not

be true to my position and trust it, because I was afraid something would not be done, I sat down and said: We cannot do it. As long as I believe we have the right, so long will I continue to urge that right; and there is no doubt that, with our growing population, we will be able to go down to Ottawa or send such a contingent to Ottawa as will ensure the granting of our rights.

The question is not are these things easy to obtain? but have we a right to them? If we have could I have asked for less? If I am to stand or fall by the case I have made I would very much sooner be beaten for making demand which are difficult to enforce, and go down expressing what I believe to be the rights of the people of the Territories, than give any man a chance of saying to me that I was afraid to demand what I believed to be right.

"WHAT WE HAVE WE HOLD."

I believe in the old motto, "What we have we hold." There is another suitable motto, used by Bulwer Lytton: "Keep all you have and try for what you can"—and, of course, I will add to "try for what you can." "What you have a right to." These are the provincial terms that I have proposed at Ottawa, and the next move rests with the authorities there. It will be for the people of the Territories to

judge whether I have made a business-like proposition, or what one gentleman was good enough to say was a ridiculous offer. I have made them, not because I consider them easy to obtain, because I was perfectly well aware of the difficulties in the way but because I believe they are right and just, and that I will have the great majority of the people behind me in making these claims; and I ask for your judgment not upon the easiness with which these things can be obtained but on account of the justice, the right and the reasonableness which are behind them. They have been demanded for Manitoba and have been withheld, but if we do not misjudge my friend Mr. Roblin, they will be asked for again and some day not far distant the joint demand of a united west cannot be disregarded.

Are you afraid of the proposal? Are you afraid to be a part of a province exceeding all others in area, in population and in resources? Are you staggered at the realization of your splendid prospects? It does not seem to me to be the occasion for fear or for shrinking but we should rather raise our hearts and brace our energies and resolutely accept the duties and responsibilities which are ours by reason of the splendid destiny which in the order of Divine Providence lies before us.